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648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

131 - 133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 12--ANALYST]

114 3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo) Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 8.

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of Okinawan prehistory will probably depend on research throughout a wide area and on the comparison and collation of discoveries already made in western Japan, south Korea, Quelpart Island, the Shantung peninsula, the Ryukyu Islands, Formosa, and China, particularly concerning the role of Fukien province in later times, to say nothing of determining the sources and routes of influences from southeastern Asia on Japan and the Ryukyus. Links with Polynesia and Hawaii have been suggested. Obviously present day political conditions are unfavorable for this type of inquiry.

The suppositions of which we have been speaking have led to the belief that the Ryukyu people, like the Japanese, are composed of the North Mongoloid, South Mongoloid or Malayan, and the Ainu type, but that the proportions are different, since there seem to be larger elements of the Malayan and Ainu types in the Ryukyu Islands. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the significant fact is that the islands owed their peopling to migration and invasion, and that culture mixture and contact is of very ancient origin.[2]

The Ryukyuan creation myth is a crystallization of ideas that must have been long dominant at the time they were recorded. There are two versions of this myth, one simple, the other, as Spencer points out, more complex and probably reflecting the influence of new and foreign ideas. The first of these versions appears in Ryukyu Shindoki, written about 1603 A.D., the second in the Kyu Yo, a Chinese translation of a work by Haneji Tomohide entitled Chusan Seikan (1650).[3]

[Text continues top of p. 28--Analyst]

2 Bishop, C.W. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Rev. 13 (1923), 40-63. See also this author's, The geographical factor in the development of Chinese civilization. Geo. Rev. 12 (1922), 19-41. For a recapitulation of the theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyus, see Marshall T. Newman and Roman L. English, The Ryukyuan people: a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 5 (1947), 114-24, and Rinkenstein, R. Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica, 3(1940), 196 ff. and the literature there cited. Chamberlain's ideas are summarized in The Luchu islands and their inhabitants. Geo. Journ. 5 (1895), 316-19. R. S. Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan. 2d Series. 8 (1931), 94-112, especially p. 94. For a recapitulation of Ryukyuan history, see C. A. Handbook, as cited, 29-31 and John R. Potter, A Preface to Liu Ch'iuan history: an analysis of the basis for establishing a United Nation's Trusteeship. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo Islands. Shanghai, 1905.

3 This discussion is based on the article by Spencer cited above. Partial translations of the myths from the sources are reproduced here. See also Rinkenstein, Okinawa-Studien, as cited, 198.

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1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property.

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Hinatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment.

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification.

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36.

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inevitable in the field of social science and that progress comes from being willing to state hypotheses, test them, derive new theories and plan new research to test these.

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Taira

worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal education ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five to ten years until matrimony.*

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern, young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59 marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect; oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more frequently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible explanation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even outside the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic, but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and marriage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is especially true for women.

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy. In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were suggested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59, the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the marriage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and 24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 suggested by this source can only be accepted with reservations.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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the household have had theirs. By 10 o'clock children have finally disappeared from the street and paths.

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